

249 /53/ Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukfi or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takua) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited time. The technique of the Nandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the (221) guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

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177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *land* for planting, along
 182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
 241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
 462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
 476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
 dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
 individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
 work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
 182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changes* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
 462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changes* and trade.) Neither of
 464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changes* a
 476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
 648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
 ment is individual; the *changes* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
 the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
 tural) work alone. In *changes*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
 ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
 ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changes* has become
 more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
 has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
 favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
 among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
 182 *changes* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
 43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
 464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
 476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
 tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
 aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
 divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
 who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
 economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different
 from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their ab-
 original equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are
 matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be dis-
 tributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as
 it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade
 goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the change the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the change preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the change and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.¹²²

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *Aséwá*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.¹²³

¹²² Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analyzed.

¹²³ The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations, sentiments, and interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

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ness such as might exist if *cheque* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *cheque* is normally free of most considerable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the medium for the Cayuá *pato* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.¹⁰⁰ Whether the *cheque* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *cheque* "exposes" the *pato* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. 1.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *cheque*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *cheque*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitude). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.¹⁰¹

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. 1.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

¹⁰⁰ The writer knows of one instance—not at Tapagüí—in which what was actually Cayuá *cheque* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *pato*. The arrangements were slender, and a number of Cayuá joined together to produce the desired work. Paraguayans often seemed less supercilious and dominating toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Tapagüí, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

¹⁰¹ Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

*177 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
 182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist
 • 43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
 181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—
 or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite
 apparent to the economically ingenious Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one
 Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which
 did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to
 the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valua-
 tion may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves.
 Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type
 of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational
 causes.¹²¹

*177 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."¹²²
 182 The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
 462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
 595 come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially
 in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best under-
 stood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the
 change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in
 agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more im-
 portant. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the
 Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of
 (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the
 now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male eco-
 nomic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less im-
 portant, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the
 woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons
 for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be
 added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today
 which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance
 all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for
 women.

¹²¹ In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transac-
 tions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—
 at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers them-
 selves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although
 money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local
 Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by
 James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely
 employed, but little actual money changes hands.

¹²² It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems
 little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors
 responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.